

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 031920Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY LOME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 184

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

S E C R E T LOME 0243

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT EYADEMA URGES IMMEDIATE WESTERN AID TO

UNITA/FNLA

REF: (A) 75 STATE 299923, (B) 75 LOME 2642

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT EYADEMA SUMMONED ME ALONG WITH FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING. IN STRONGEST TERMS EYADEMA BOTH CRITICIZED SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND URGED WEST ("VOS GOUVERNEMENTS") TO PREVENT ANGOLA'S COLLAPSE UNDER SOVIET HEGEMONY. LOOKING MAINLY AT ME, PRESIDENT STRESSED URGENCY OF IMMEDIATE WESTERN RESPONSE IN VIEW OF DETERIORATING MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA. EYADEMA WAS EXTREMELY AGITATED, POSSIBLY BECAUSE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, AT OWN REQUEST, HAD MADE DEMARCHE EARLIER THIS MORNING BLAMING "IMPERIALISTS AND EXPLOITERS" FOR ANGOLAN PROBLEM. EYADEMA HAD TOLD AMBASSADOR FLATLY THAT TOGOLESE KNEW BETTER THAN SOVIETS WHO AIDED AND WHO EXPLOITED THEM. EYADEMA THEN TOLD US THAT GOT DID NOT FAVOR ANY ONE FACTION AND STILL BELIEVED ANGOLANS SHOULD BE LEFT TO ACHIEVE OWN SETTLEMENT. SOVIET INVOLVEMENT, HOWEVER, HAD MADE ANGOLA MORE THAN AFRICAN PROBLEM. THERE NO LONGER APPEARS TO BE DANGER OF TOGO'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA, BUT EYADEMA'S APPEAL FOR IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE WESTERN AID TO ANTI-MPLA FORCES IS NOT YET

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DIATE AND EFFECTIVE WESTERN AID TO ANTI-MPLA FORCES IS NOT YET

ON PUBLIC RECORD. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT EYADEMA UNEXPECTEDLY SUMMONED ME AND FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS ANGOLA. I OBSERVED FONMIN HUNLEDE DEPARTING PRESIDENCY AS I ARRIVED. FELLOW-TRAVELING INFORMATION MINISTER JOHNSON WAS SOLE OTHER TOGOLESE PARTICIPANT IN OUR MEETING.

3. EYADEMA INTRODUCED SUBJECT OF ANGOLA, SAYING IT WAS NO LONGER RPT NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY AN AFRICAN PROBLEM. MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION ON MPLA SIDE WAS MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANGOLANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR OWN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SOVIET THREAT SO BAD THAT UNITA AND FNLA HAD BEEN FORCED TO ACCEPT HELP FROM WHOMEVER THEY COULD GET IT, I.E. SOUTH AFRICANS. PRESIDENT REPEATED THAT, WHILE TOGO SUPPORTED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, PROBLEM WAS NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY AFRICAN. HE REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT GOVERNMENTS (REPRESENTED BY THREE AMBASSADORS) SIMPLY COULD NOT STAND ASIDE AND LET SOVIETS SECURE FOOTHOLD IN THIS PART OF AFRICA WHERE THEY HAD NO BUSINESS. HE SAID ANY KIND OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE, MATERIEL OR MEN, WOULD BE WELCOME. GRAVITY OF CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION FOR UNITA AND FNLA REQUIRED OUR IMMEDIATE HELP. PRESIDENT DECRINED RECENT SOVIET-SUPPORTED INCURSION INTO ZAIRIAN VILLAGE ABD BEMOANED NEEDLESS SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT INHABITANTS.

4. EYADEMA WAS AGITATED AS HE DESCRIBED HIS MEETING EARLIER TODAY WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR, AT LATTER'S REQUEST. AMBASSADOR HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD COOPERATE TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA, BUT HE ALSO HAD WARNED OF "IMPERIALISTS AND EXPLOITERS" WHO INTERFERE IN AFRICA. EYADEMA TOLD US HE HAD ASKED THAT HIS THANKS FOR SOVIET ASSURANCES BE CONVEYED TO MOSCOW, BUT HE HAD CHASTISED SOVIET AMBASSADOR FOR CRITICISM OF WESTERNERS AS EXPLOITERS IN AFRICA. THE TOGOLESE, PRESIDENT HAD SAID, WERE IN BETTER POSITION THAN SOVIETS TO KNOW "WHO AIDED AND WHO EXPLOITED" THEM. ONE HAD ONLY TO LOOK AROUND TO SEE HOW LITTLE USSR HAD DONE IN TOGO.

5. FOLLOWING EYADEMA'S FORMAL REMARKS, I AWAITED INITIAL RESPONSE BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROUDIE, WHO PS DEAN OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS HERE. ROUDIE SAID FRANCE SHARED EYADEMA'S CONCERN FOR WITHDRAWAL

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OF FOREIGN FORCES AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA. HE GAVE NO HINT GOF MIGHT BE ASSISTING ANTI-MPLA FORCES ALREADY, OR WOULD BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE GREATER RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD AN ANGOLAN SOLUTION.

6. I THEN REPLIED THAT USG'S POSITION WAS COMPATIBLE WITH THAT WHICH PRESIDENT HAD STATED IN THAT WE SUPPORTED CEASEFIRE, AN END TO ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND NEGOTIATIONS AMONG PARTIES

CONCERNED. I SAID THAT USG ALSO TROUBLED BY SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA AND HAD MADE THIS KNOWN TO SOVIET GOVERNMENT. I TOLD EYADEMA THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD PUBLICLY EXPRESSED REGRET AT US CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IN CUTTING OFF FUNDS FOR AID TO ANGOLA, CALLING ACTION A SERIOUS MISTAKE. EYADEMA NODDED VIGOROUSLY AT THIS.

7. GERMAN AMBASSADOR HAERKAMP REMINDED PRESIDENT OF GERMANY'S UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE WITH SOVIET AGGRESSION, ASSESSED CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA ON BASIS OF RECENT "DER SPIEGEL" ARTICLE AND FINALLY LAUNCHED MORE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PAUCITY OF SOVIET AID EFFORT THROUGHOUT WORLD. HAERKAMP EMPHASIZED IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR WESTERN NATIONS, WHICH DO PROVIDE MOST OF WORLD'S ECONOMIC AID, TO RESPOND TO PLEAS FOR HELP WHEN WE CONSTANTLY WERE BEING LABELED AS IMPERIALISTS, EXPLOITERS, AND NEO-COLONIALISTS.

8. EYADEMA ACKNOWLEDGED PREPONDERANCE OF WESTERN AID AND, GESTURING, SAID SOVIETS HAD GIVEN NOTHING - "RIEN, RIEN." FURTHERMORE, SOVIETS HAD ESTABLISHED STRONG FOOTHOLDS IN AFRICA, SUCH AS IN BENIN AND SOMALIA. (REFERENCE TO SOMALIA REMINDED ME THAT, WHEN FURNISHED LAST SUMMER WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOVIET FACILITIES IN BERBERA AND TESTIMONY OF ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, I SENT THEM DIRECTLY TO EYADEMA. AT TIME, I THOUGHT THAT PRESIDENT AS MILITARY MAN MIGHT TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN MATERIALS. HE NEVER ACKNOWLEDGED RECEIVING THEM, BUT I BELIEVE NOW THEY DID MAKE DESIRED IMPRESSION ON HIM.)

9. PRESIDENT DID NOT MENTION CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA WHEN ASKING FOR WESTERN HELP TO STOP SOVIETS, BUT HE APPEARED TO APPRECIATE IMPLICATION IN PRAISE OF FRENCH AMBASSADOR (WHOSE LAST POST WAS HAVANA) FOR USG ACTION IN BLOCKING SOVIET MISSILE DELIVERIES TO CUBA IN 1962.

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10. AS MEETING DREW TO CLOSE, I ASSURED EYADEMA HIS POSITION WOULD BE CONVEYED TO WASHINGTON TODAY. I THANKED HIM FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR DIRECT EXPRESSION OF HIS VIEWS WHICH, AS I WAS AWARE, CAME FROM MAN OF PEACE.

11. OUTSIDE PRESIDENCY, FRENCH AMBASSADOR INVITED HAERKAMP AND ME TO HIS RESIDENCE AT NOONTIME TO COMPARE NOTES.

12. COMMENT: FRENCH AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES AND I AGREED THIS JOINT MEETING WAS AT BEST UNUSUAL, PARTICULARLY SINCE PRESIDENT EYADEMA WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF SOVIETS AND, IN EFFECT, PUT HIMSELF IN POSITION OF SEEKING AN "INTERVENTION" BY "IMPERIALISTS" (ITALICS MINE) FAR STRONGER THAN THAT WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT

USUALLY PERCEIVES ON PART OF WESTERN POWERS HERE (SARAKAWA EXCEPTED, OF COURSE). IF THERE IS ANY HINT IN MEDIA TOMORROW OF A TOGOLESE SHIFT TOWARD PARTISAN POSITION ON ANGOLA, OR OF GOT DISPLEASURE OVER SOVIETS, THEN I WOULD AGREE WITH FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADOR THAT EYADEMA HAS CHANGED GOT POSITION. WHILE THERE NO LONGER APPEARS TO BE DANGER OF TOGO'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA, EYADEMA HAS NOT YET STOOD UP AND BEEN COUNTED PUBLICLY, HOWEVER. FRENCH AMBASSADOR (AS WELL AS HIS DCM WHO ATTENDED NOONTIME MEETING AT FRENCH RESIDENCE) BELIEVES EYADEMA'S APPROACH TO US HAS MOBUTU'S CONCURRENCE, BUT AT SAME TIME HE VIEWS PRESIDENT'S MOOD THIS MORNING AS ANGRY AND HIS ACTION IN SUMMONING US THEREFORE AS PRECIPITATE.

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## Message Attributes

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